1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying [342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

159 585 In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I 224 833 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some [841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

415 Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

●352 For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

412 There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

276 There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.